

The University of Chicago

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF THE FOX INDIANS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1935

By
SOL TAX

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INTRODUCTION

The early history of the Fox is closely linked with that of the Sauk, to whom they are closely related in language and culture. While often allied, the earliest historical records show that they were always distinct tribes, and although in the government records they are always considered together as the "Sac and Fox," the two tribes have always considered themselves as separate, and today they are, in fact, separated geographically and politically.

After a checkered history together in Wisconsin (where their presence was first recorded by the French in the middle of the seventeenth century), Illinois, and Iowa, the two tribes were finally (after the Blackhawk War) pushed west of the Mississippi. In 1842 they ceded their rights to their land in exchange for a cash annuity and for a reservation on the Missouri River in what is now Kansas. The Sauk were in this period far more tractable than the Fox and remained on the Kansas reservation until the early seventies when the reservation was exchanged for one in Oklahoma, where the Sauk still live.

In the middle fifties, however, the Fox, dissatisfied with their Kansas home and with the government's policy, moved back to Iowa where they bought a little land on the Iowa River. Unrecognized by the government, they barely existed by their little agriculture and by begging until, in 1866, the government sent an agent and resumed annuity payments. Since that time, living on their reservation near Tama, Iowa, they have increased their lands and their population and are now well established.

The Fox (also commonly known as the Mesquakie) are a Central Algonkian tribe who had, in historic times, a typical woodland culture. The year for them was divided sharply into two phases. In the summertime (from April until mid-Septem-

ber) they lived in villages of oblong bark houses, growing corn, beans, and pumpkins, with the women tending the crops and making mats and bags of rushes and bark, while the men went off to hunt or to war. In the fall they buried most of their corn to serve them the following spring and summer; then went off on the winter hunt, living a more or less nomadic life until the "great freeze" set in, when they gathered in large encampments. Winter houses were round and made of long poles set in a circle and joined at the top, the whole covered with mats with a bear-skin serving as a door. This duality in life is now gone, although both house types survive, and the women still have their fields of "squaw corn."

Gone also, of course, is war, which was apparently of two kinds. Occasionally there was a "national war" in which the whole tribe participated, but in addition there were frequent war parties initiated by individuals whose dreams or reputation foretold success. The chief motives for such war parties were revenge and glory; when the warriors returned, the women met them and they held a Scalp Dance in which the most successful were especially feted. All individuals of the tribe belonged to one of two divisions, *to'kan* and *kic'ko*, which divisions functioned in war as competitive parties and in peace as opposing sides in games and certain ceremonies. Now such roads to glory and such warlike competition are ended, but still the dual division functions in its religious and social aspects.

The tribe was also divided into a number of presumably patrilineal clans which were religious as well as social units. The tribal chieftainship was hereditary in one section of the Bear clan, but it was (even in contrast to that of the Sauk) relatively weak, and the tribal council was politically more important. The clans still exist, though possibly less strong than before, and since the Indians are still largely pagan, they are the chief religious organizations today. The organization of the old households, families, clans, and dual divisions is, of course, almost entirely broken down, but the Fox today, on their reservation where they own and administer the land communally, are still a going concern. Their culture has changed in many respects,

but replacements rather than losses have constituted the chief process of change, and the society and its individuals seem integrated almost as well today as they were at any time in the past.

Their reservation is located about two miles west of Tama, in central Iowa, and five or six miles east of Montour. The boundaries of the territory, which is now inhabited by some four hundred Fox and a few Winnebago, are quite irregular, the entire area being about five miles at its greatest length and three miles in width. The missionary's home, the church, the government farmer's home and barn, and the little school and the teacher's home, are all located close to the highway and the railroads. From here there is a parting of the ways, and on all sides are scattered the dwellings of the Indians.

The grounds of each household are shut off from the road by a fence and a barbed-wire gate, which serve to keep the horses at home. The house, a small frame building of one or two rooms, stands a few yards back from the gate. Somewhere near by there is usually a wickiup, a round house with a frame of poles and a covering of mats (the old winter house), and very often there is near the house proper a square or rectangular open-air shelter consisting of a raised platform and a roof of branches supported by four poles, the whole having no walls. In the summer the family eats here, sitting on the platform, the food being cooked on an open fire near by. Frequently members of the family sleep on this platform also. This structure is probably a substitute for the old summer house which, with few exceptions, has disappeared from the settlement. There is usually also a barn, a pump, and almost always some fields of corn, some fruit trees, and a little vegetable garden planted with various kinds of beans, pumpkins, and squashes. In all, there are some seventy such "camps," and in each one lives a family consisting of parents and children, sometimes an aged grandparent, and often the young family of one of the children.

There are three cemeteries scattered over the reservation on the summits of hills; the burials are along family lines, for a man will usually be buried where his fathers lie. On a hill, which is said to be the highest spot on the reservation, there is a little

clearing, neatly fenced with a bench running around it and forming a circular dance place where the Drum Society holds its ceremonies. In winter, of course, the society must meet in a house. This is the only obvious evidence of the rich ceremonial life in the tribe; the important gens festivals are held in barn-like houses near the homes of the respective clan leaders. In the lower country, near the highway, are the powwow grounds where the annual performance for the benefit of white visitors and the Indian pocket-book is held.

The land is not allotted in the sense that Indian lands elsewhere are; it all belongs to the entire tribe, and the whole community pays taxes to the state of Iowa. Of course, no land can be sold by an individual, yet Indians have definite rights to the farmland that they and their families have been working. Money and other property are inherited according to the state law, and today even wills are made. Personal property, such as tools, clothing, horses, dogs, and other chattels, are not inherited but are divided among the funeral attendants who wash and bury the body; horses, however, are kept by the family, and dogs belonging to the deceased are taken over by his ceremonially adopted substitute. If a person dies of a communicable disease, all his things are burned. Women own their own property and money, and their husbands have absolutely no voice in the management of these.

The old chiefs are gone, and with them the ancient tribal council with its ceremonial functions. The courts of law have jurisdiction in cases of murder, rape, and other major crimes, but for small offenses the only deterrent is public opinion, besides, of course, the displeasure of the Great Spirit, though it is difficult to ascertain just what part the latter plays. Social control, as practiced, may be illustrated by what one Fox Indian says:

If a man is known to have taken something, the owner could go to him and demand or take the stolen goods. If a man steals, they say, "Maybe he needs it." They always know what kind of a man he is. Children are reasoned with and taught when they steal; they are made to fast to make them better. Lying is not punished, but it is followed by loss of luck and reputation. Personal broils are entirely private and individual affairs. A person might hit a man going after his wife but not for something like stealing. Fighters should be ashamed; only dogs fight. It is best to keep the peace and do nothing.

There are among the people certain modes of behavior between relatives and toward strangers, and the culture is active enough to enforce them. Even political enmities and rivalries seldom interfere with normal social intercourse, and rarely does real bitterness and personal feeling rise between members of opposite factions. As for economic rivalry, there is little opportunity. The land is not allotted, so there is no ownership as such; no fortunes or great difference in economic status. Where one finds a family living in a wickiup, it is not due so much to poverty as to a feeling of conservatism, and the conservative old man or woman who prefers the old to the new is naturally not envious of those whose opinions differ.

The native culture has become adjusted to the relatively slight encroachment of white civilization. If the Medicine Society is gone, there remain many ceremonies (with at least two new organizations—the Drum Society and the Peyote cult); if the main occupation of the men—hunting—is gone, farming has taken its place, and the Fox have no aversion for work; if war is gone, there is a rich outside life to relieve the ennui. So the Indian still has much of his social life intact; he still has his stories and his ceremonies, his dances and his songs; he has his work and his play. And he has many new activities: schools, newspapers and magazines, music and the band, competitive sports, movies and trips to the city, political life and interests, and the annual powwow. There are new holidays in addition to their own: Wednesday and Saturday nights in town, Sundays, Christmas, the Fourth of July, and others. No sooner has one occasion passed and been forgotten than another looms ahead. And all the round of life is still made meaningful in the nexus of an integrated social organization which (however much it may have changed) is still typically Fox.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM¹

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Fox have an Omaha type of kinship system. The Fox terminology is illustrated in Figures 1-4 and Table 1, which

¹ Under the sponsorship of the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, ten weeks during the summer of 1932 and a month during the sum-

are self-explanatory.² A brief summary of the system is given on page 254.

Siblings.—Brothers refer to one another as *neto'tām*^a, and sisters use the same term for one another. Age distinctions are usually made, however, so that a man calls his older brother

mer of 1934 were spent with the Fox. An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule methods was used, the attempt being to get pertinent factual data about all the Indians and to supplement them with statements of informants. Genealogies of practically every Indian were taken, checked against one another, and combined and checked against a few genealogies recorded by William Jones about thirty years before, which were kindly furnished by Mrs. Welpley who worked them out from Jones's notes. In addition a check was made against a family census enumeration made in 1905 by Duren Ward.

The clan to which each name in the genealogies belongs was noted so that the method of descent could be accurately determined. For all living people the translation of the Indian names was obtained, and the circumstances of naming (connected with methods of descent) were noted where possible. A map of the reservation was made, and each household numbered; then separate records for each household were kept to determine the relations of the members and also to note dual-division membership and other data. To check the marriages appearing in the genealogies, and to obtain additional information, a record was made of as many marriages as could be remembered, with information as to the clan of each of the parties and their parents; the tribe of each (tribal intermarriage has occurred); the relationship of the couple to each other, if any; the relationship of the several mates of a person to one another; the number of children born to the couple; the number that were living when the marriage was dissolved (and what became of them); and finally how the marriage was dissolved. "Marriage" includes people who lived together for only a few months.

Records were taken of membership in the various societies revolving about "sacred packs," as well as in other societies, and in secular organizations such as the band and the baseball team. On the genealogies were recorded the adherents to the two factions, so that it is possible to see how they follow family and clan lines.

Meanwhile, the kinship system was obtained (with the help of the genealogies) from some twenty different informants. In cases of disagreements the Indians were sometimes brought together; and in the end, when the theory of the system was worked out, the reason for such errors (which occurred in the descendants of the second ascendent generation when the informant knew of no such relatives) could be easily seen. A few people, but not many, have the theory of the system worked out. Conventional patterns of behavior were obtained from informants and checked by observation; representative ceremonies were actually witnessed at one time or another.

² For the spelling of most of the terms the writer is indebted to Dr. Truman Michelson. In the charts relationships are read from ego. Triangles are males, circles females; horizontal lines connect siblings, vertical lines, parent and offspring; equal signs indicate marriage.

FOX KINSHIP SYSTEM

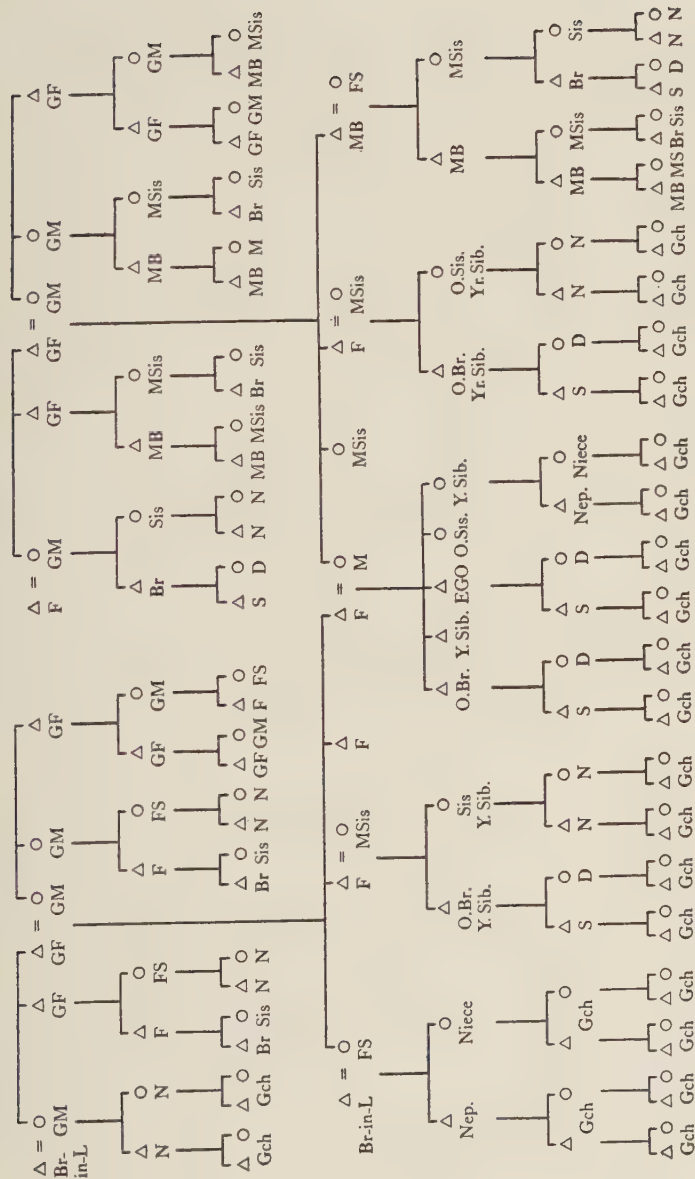


FIG. 1.—Chart of the Fox kinship system. Ego = male. For the native terms and the abbreviations used see Table 1 and the text.

[illegible]

FIG. 2.—Chart of the Fox kinship system. Ego=female. For the native terms and the abbreviations used see Table 1 and the text.

FOX KINSHIP SYSTEM

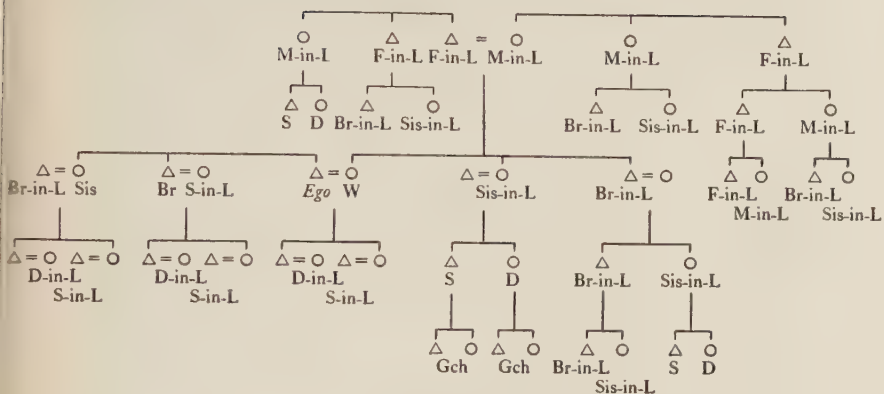


FIG. 3.—Chart of Fox affinal relatives. Ego=male. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 1 and the text. (Ego's brother's wife = Sis-in-L.)

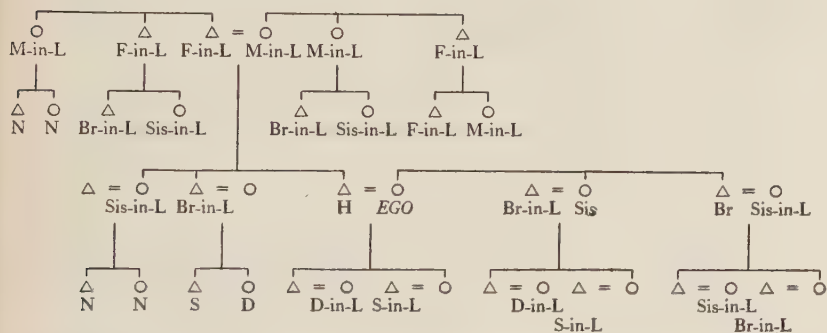


FIG. 4.—Chart of Fox affinal relatives. Ego=female. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 1 and the text.

nesese, a woman calls her older sister *nemise*, and both call a younger sibling *nesime*. These terms are applied in the same manner to the children of anybody called *no's^a* or *negi^{ha}* ("father's [or "mother's"] sister") and include, therefore, the parallel cousins.

TABLE 1*

FOX KINSHIP TERMS

<i>neto'täm^a</i>	sibling of the same sex [Br]; [Sis]
<i>nete'gwäm^a</i>	sister, man speaking [Sis]
<i>netawäm^a</i>	brother, woman speaking [Br]
<i>nesese</i>	older sibling of the same sex [OBr (m.s.); OSis (w.s.)]
<i>nesime</i>	younger sibling [YSib]
<i>nemise</i>	older sibling of opposite sex [OBr (w.s.); OSis (m.s.)]
<i>negwi's^a</i>	son [S]
<i>netane's^a</i>	daughter [D]
<i>no'ci'sem^a</i>	grandchild [GCh]
<i>nenegwa^{ha}</i>	son of sibling of opposite sex [N]
<i>ne'cemi^{ha}</i>	daughter of sibling of opposite sex [N]
<i>no's^a</i>	father [F]
<i>negy^a</i>	mother [M]
<i>negi^{ha}</i>	mother's sister [MSis]
<i>nes'egwis^a</i>	father's sister [FS]
<i>ne'ci'sä^a</i>	mother's brother [MB]
<i>ne'me'co</i>	grandfather [GF]
<i>no'gome's^a</i>	grandmother [GM]
<i>nena'päm^a</i>	husband [H]
<i>ni'w^a</i>	wife [W]
<i>nita'gw^a</i>	sibling-in-law of same sex [Br-in-L (m.s.); Sis-in-L (w.s.)]
<i>ni'nem^{wa}</i>	sibling-in-law of opposite sex [Br-in-L (w.s.); Sis-in-L (m.s.)]
<i>neme'co'm^a</i>	father-in-law [F-in-L]
<i>nogum^a</i>	mother-in-law [M-in-L]
<i>nenegwan^a</i>	son-in-law [S-in-L]
<i>ne'semy^a</i>	daughter-in-law [D-in-L]

* This table gives the Fox kinship terms and their primary meanings. The abbreviations (in brackets) are used in Figures 1-4. In addition to the extensions given in the charts, children of any "grandchild" are "grandchildren," and parents of any "grandparent" are "grandparents." Further extensions may be determined by following the rule of reciprocals and the pattern of descent. The terms follow the orthography used by Dr. Truman Michelson.

Parents-children.—Father is called *no's^a*, and the term is applied not only to him but to everybody he calls *neto'täm^a* ("brother"); mother is *negy^a*, and the term is restricted to one's own mother. The mother's sister, and everybody whom she calls *neto'täm^a*, as well as the daughter of a *ne'ci'sä^a* ("mother's brother") is called *negi^{ha}* ("mother's sister"). The reciprocals of

all these, in all their uses, are *negwi's^a* ("son") and *netane's^a* ("daughter"). These terms thus take care of all parallel uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces, among others.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece.—The mother's brother is called *ne'ci'sä^a*, and this term is applied also to his son, his son's son, etc., indefinitely, and in addition to every man to whom the mother applies the term *netawäm^a* ("brother.") The father's sister is called *nes'egwis^a*, and this term is applied to all whom the father calls *nete'gwäm^a*, ("sister"). The reciprocals of both of these terms are *nenegwa^{ha}* ("cross-nephew") and *ne'cemi^{ha}* ("cross-niece"), and they are applied to the children of any *netawäm^a* or *nete'gwäm^a*.

Grandparent-grandchild.—Any grandfather is called *ne'me'co*, and any grandmother *no'gome's^a*; and the reciprocal for both is *no'ci'sem^a*, "grandchild." The grandparent terms are also applied, respectively, to the grandparents' siblings and to the great-grandparents and their siblings; the reciprocal follows consistently. Consistent also with the rest of the terminology employed in the cross-lines, the parent's mother's brother's son is called "grandfather," and his son also, etc., indefinitely, the sisters of these grandfathers always being "grandmothers" and the reciprocals of all being "grandchildren."

The system of affinity.—The most common term for "wife" is *ni-w^a*, and for "husband," *nena.päm^a*, and these terms are not otherwise used. "Father-in-law" is *neme'co.m^a* and "mother-in-law," *nogum^a*, and these terms are applied as well to their siblings. The reciprocal terms in all cases are *nenegwan^a*, "son-in-law," and *ne'semy^a*, "daughter-in-law." The father's brother's wife is *negi^{ha}* ("mother's sister"), and this term is applied to the wife of any *no's^a* ("father") except one's own father; the mother's sister's husband is *no's^a*, and this term is applied to the husband of any *negi^{ha}*. The reciprocals of these terms in all their applications are *negwi's^a* ("son") and *netane's^a* ("daughter").

The wife of any *ne'ci'sä^a* ("mother's brother") is *nes'egwis^a* ("father's sister"), but the prefix *negagadj* ("joking") is usually added to distinguish her from a consanguineous "father's sis-

ter." The father's sister's husband is a "brother-in-law." Brothers-in-law apply the term *nita·gw^a* to one another, and sisters-in-law use the same term, but brother-in-law and sister-in-law apply the term *ni·nem^{wa}* to each other. Also, the husband of any *nes'egwis^a* ("father's sister") by blood is *nita·gw^a* to a man, *ni·nem^{wa}* to a woman, and the reciprocals are the same.

Rules of structure.—The Fox terminology is completely systematic and can be reduced to three rules or descriptive principles:

1. *The basic structure:* that one's own siblings, parents and parents' siblings, grandparents, parallel and cross-cousins, and the spouses of one's own and one's parents' siblings and all their reciprocals are as given above.

2. *Succession:* that the offspring of persons called "father's [or "mother's"] sister" are always "siblings"; that the offspring of a sibling of the same sex are always "son" and "daughter," and of a sibling of the opposite sex always "nephew" and "niece"; that the offspring of a son, daughter, niece, or nephew are always "grandchildren"; that the offspring of grandchildren are always "grandchildren" again; that the offspring of a mother's brother are always "mother's brother" and "mother's sister"; and that the offspring of a father's sister are always the same as the offspring of one's own sister. (Note that there is no rule of succession from those called "grandparents.")

3. *Constant reciprocals:* that the reciprocals as given above never vary; each term has its set reciprocal no matter where in the system it is found. It is by application of this rule only that the offspring of persons called "grandfather" and "grandmother" can be determined.

It is by the application of these three principles that any doubts in the minds of the natives themselves are resolved. The first two are, of course, grounded in the minds of the Indians from long experience, and there is never the necessity of applying logic. In cases where the terms for the grandparents' siblings' children must be determined conceptually, however, the third is the guiding principle. The native conception of relationships is that they exist in pairs; mother's brother's son is not a relationship separate from father's sister's son; rather, *ne'ci'sä^a* and *nenegwa^{ha}* are two aspects of one relationship.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

The range of the kinship system is limited only by knowledge and memory, and these differ with different people. Every person, of course, knows his immediate family and, in addition, his parents' siblings and their descendants. Grandparents' siblings are usually known if they live to maturity, and then most of their descendants are also known; beyond that only scattered names are remembered, although there are exceptional individuals who can trace their genealogies through most of the great-grandparent generation. The range is not unilateral; while some people remember more of their father's family, others are equally facile on the other side. Which relatives are best known depends upon circumstances and is not reducible to rule.

The kinship terminology is applied to all known relatives (even in some cases where the genealogical relationship is not traceable) so that the entire tribe is divided into a small number of types of relationship pairs. Each of these types carries with it a more or less distinct traditional pattern of behavior. Generally speaking, the behavior of close relatives follows the pattern in its greatest intensity, that of farther relatives in lesser degree; but there are numerous cases where, for some reason, a pair of close relatives "do not behave toward each other at all as they should."

Underlying all patterns of behavior is a general feeling that there should be good will toward all relatives, by marriage as well as by blood, and a feeling of affection and willingness to help. In addition, between all relatives by blood there is a certain amount of restraint that becomes greater when the relatives are of different sexes. In any pair of relatives these mutual feelings are essential in the behavior of both persons and may be called "equivalent factors." In addition, there are other "differential factors" between the two persons of a relationship pair, as will be seen in the following summary of the behavior patterns:

Brothers.—Besides the equivalent factors, which here emerge in a spirit of comradeship coupled with what the natives translate as "respect" (a reluctance to discuss any matters of sex or even to joke freely together), there is a differential factor based on actual age. The younger brother should follow his elder brother's advice and to some extent obey him; on the other hand, the elder

brother should especially look after his younger brother's welfare. The difference is very informal, however, and hardly more standardized than in our own culture.

Sisters.—What has been said above may be repeated here. Sisters are apparently a bit more ready to tease one another about boys than brothers are about girls, but there are wide individual differences.

Brother and sister.—Between a man and his sister the equivalent factor of restraint becomes very important. Even today sister and brother are never seen alone together, never would think of going together to a theater or dance, and if by chance they are left alone together in the house at night the brother seeks his bed outside. Yet there is no avoidance in any stricter sense. They may see each other, talk together, and work together; there is supposed to be real affection between them, and there usually is.

Differentially, all brothers respect their sisters in the sense that they respect their elder brothers; but they are more deferential toward elder sisters than toward younger. Also, of course, actual age makes a difference, for when the siblings are very young (say under ten years of age), their attitudes are different than when they grow older. A sister is expected to make things (like clothes) for her brother; and the brother tries to find out, through their mother, what his sister would like so that he can bring it to her.

(In addition to bashfulness about sex matters, there is also restraint between brother and sister on religious matters; they do not talk about duties or activities in the religious societies. It might be added that the restraint pattern between blood-relatives, especially of opposite sex, is sometimes carried beyond the family; thus, a very close male friend of a man would not feel free to take his friend's sister out.)

Father and son.—The father-son relationship is much like that between two brothers, except that the differential factor is very much stressed. A son is supposed to obey his father, and if he does wrong, the father is supposed to make him fast "for his own good"—the closest thing to corporal punishment that properly occurs.

Father and daughter.—As far as the equivalent factors are concerned, this relationship is much like that of brother-sister; but the differential factor is reversed, for the daughter obeys and respects her father even as her brother, to some extent, does her.

Mother and son.—The relationship here also is much like that between sister and brother, but since the mother does not have to respect the father in the way that the daughter does, she can help her son when the father is intent upon punishing him. Thus, if he is sent to bed without supper she may (after making him promise to do right in the future) bring him food. Obviously there are wide variations in matters such as this.

Mother and daughter.—The relationship between a mother and her daughter is much like that between a father and his son. It is up to the mother, or other close female relatives, to teach the daughter what she must know, both about household duties and more personal matters. While the father may give the girl good advice about how to behave, his wishes are generally transmitted through the mother, to whom is also intrusted the duty of discipline.

In the case of all these parent-child relationships (as with those of siblings) the pattern extends to all relatives who apply

"parent-child" terms to one another, and in the case of the mother-child relationships the mother's sister is just as much equivalent to the mother in behavior as the various fathers are to one another, even though linguistically the latter are all *no's* while the former have different terms. But in these relationships more than in any others among the Fox, the intensity of the pattern depends on the closeness of the actual relationship or on the closeness of the actual social bond, so that a child brought up by its mother's sister would treat her as its mother.

Grandparents and grandchildren.—The equivalent factor of restraint is somewhat lessened between grandparents and grandchildren; there is considerably more intimacy between them than between parents and children, for example. The advice and help of grandparents are sought, and a father's father will, for example, help his grandson in an argument with his son, the boy's father. The restraint is not relaxed to the extent of allowing obscenity (such a thing would be unthinkable); but it is at the same time highly proper to talk over love affairs with a grandparent even of the opposite sex. The differential factor of seeking advice from, not giving it to, a grandparent is present. The grandson will haul water for his grandfather, fill his pipe, etc., as a sign both of his affection and of his respect.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece.—Although the previous relationships described are to some extent indefinite, and not so different from those found in our own society, the nepotic relationships are highly formalized and distinctive. Coupled with the other equivalent factors found in blood-relationships is one best described as the "joking relationship." The mother's brother and his sister's children, on the one hand, and the father's sister and her brother's children, on the other, characteristically play light practical jokes on one another, tease one another in public, and, in general, have what the Fox term a "nonrespect" relationship. At any gathering the raillery is usually occasioned by the presence of several pairs of joking relatives. Since these are restrained in their behavior by the same modesty that characterizes other blood-relatives, the joking is always of an innocent sort, with never any bodily contact or obscene reference. As might be expected, the restraint is more marked between relatives of the opposite sex.

There is one differential factor in these relationships: when the nephew and niece are young children, their parents threaten them when they are naughty with the name of their uncle (mother's brother), saying that he will come and eat them up, or something of the sort. This use of the uncle as a bogeyman is very effective, for the children grow to fear the man who sometimes actually does perform such a practical joke (to him) as to pour a pail of water over them as they sleep. Yet when the nephew or niece grows up, he is supposed to forget all this and love his mother's brother. By that time, of course, the uncle can be repaid a little in kind.

Siblings-in-law.—Between all siblings-in-law there is also a pronounced joking relationship, but since they are not blood-relatives, the restraint is absent, and the joking takes on a very ribald character, the keynote of which is, in the

case of brothers-in-law, horseplay and obscenity with one jokingly acting as if the other were a woman, or, in the case of a man and a woman, mock love of a verbal nature only and some degree of suggestive obscenity.

Mother's brother's wife and husband's sister's children.—These are relatives who apply terms of consanguinity with the prefix “joking.” All aunts and their nephews and nieces joke in the innocent manner, but these “joking” aunts and nephews and nieces joke together in the same way that siblings-in-law do. In addition there is, in this case, the differential factor that exists between uncle and nephew or niece; but when a boy is threatened with his mother's brother's wife, he is afraid of her love, for he is told that she will come and kiss him and make love to him, and this seems to be an effective threat.

Parents-in-law and children-in-law.—No joking is indulged in by these relatives, but neither is there real avoidance. The relationship is like that of parents to children in that children-in-law have duties toward, and respect for, their parents-in-law. But, especially when these relatives are of opposite sex, there seems to be a feeling between them of uncomfortable restraint that keeps them from speaking to one another except on business matters. They would never just sit down and gossip or indulge in small talk.

There are, of course, personal variations in all these relationships. Some people who should joke, for example, do not do so, perhaps because they are “far-away” relatives, or sometimes because one who is a poor teaser is afraid to start anything because he knows the other will get the better of him. Needless to say, there are a few individuals who cannot take a joke as they should. (Nevertheless, the pattern of joking is carried out more uniformly than any of the other behavior patterns, possibly because it is the most positive pattern.)

Some particular points about the kinship system will be discussed later, together with whatever interpretations seem feasible. It may be noted here simply that the foregoing outline shows that the kinship terminology and the kinship behavior patterns are the linguistic and social facets of one coherent system, and they cannot be considered separately until they are first considered together.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Besides being the center of the group of relatives already described—which the Fox themselves call the “family”—each Indian is a member of one or more religious societies, one of the two tribal divisions, probably (if he or she is mature) one of the two political factions, and possibly (if a man) the baseball team,

the band, or one or another of the various clubs. It may seem as if the oft-recorded fact that the Fox have totemic gentes is being omitted, but although these have special characteristics that distinguish them from the other religious societies, they will be better understood as types of cult groups.

THE FAMILY

Bodies of kindred are, of course, overlapping groups, yet to a Fox Indian his group of relatives is by far the most important social unit to which he is attached. In a population of close to four hundred, the size of this group is normally from fifty to a hundred persons, scattered over the reservation in perhaps a dozen households besides his own. The blood tie is considerably stronger than the marriage tie, but this statement should be made with reservations, for when a marriage has lasted for a long time, the affinal ties—whether through habit or through the influence of the children—become strong indeed, and the bond between husband and wife and their children often becomes stronger than that which ties either the father or the mother to his or her family.³

What is to one person a group of relatives by marriage is, of course, a group of blood-relatives to his children. It is this group, relatives through the father and through the mother equally, that is, without any doubt, the most important social unit. Genealogies of all the members of the tribe show that, while in some

³ The difficulty in establishing any firm generalization about the relative strength of consanguineous and affinal bonds by objective means rises from the instability of marriage itself. A great many marriages are of short duration, too short for them to have any effect on the social structure. In 1932 a record of 273 marriages that had occurred in the tribe was taken; of that 273, 67 of the couples were still living together. Of the 205 marriages that had terminated, no less than 105 had ended by means of separation—63 when there were not even any children to show for the marriage. Some people never settle down long enough to have families, and in any interpretive study these and the transitory marriages in general must be treated separately.

(It must not be supposed that the condition described is necessarily a result of recent disintegration. As far back as the genealogies can now be carried, to sixty or seventy years ago when the social organization was probably as integrated as it ever was, the same situation seems to hold. "Easy divorce" is, more probably than not, an old pattern.)

cases (owing to circumstances not to the point) more of the mother's family were remembered, in other cases the reverse was true. Nor is the distinction of cross-lines from parallel lines a difference of social proximity; in all cases the family group most meaningful in daily life is absolutely bilateral.

In addition to relatives brought into the family in the normal course of biological generation, there are additional adopted ones. It must be understood that there are two kinds of adoption among the Fox. In many cases, for various reasons, children may go to live with relatives other than their own parents (for a shorter or a longer time), and for purposes of receiving the child's annuities the foster-parents may adopt the child legally. Whether they do or not, this is often called "adoption." In this case the child is already a relative of the foster-family, and they keep up the old connections so that the question of changed incest groups, for example, does not enter.

What is more often called "adoption" by the Fox might better be termed "replacement" and will be described later. Suffice it to say that, whenever a person has died, no matter what his or her age, some person of approximately the same age, and the same sex, is taken into the family in his place and assumes the kinship relations that the original had. Behavior patterns are extended to people thus adopted, and a person will joke with his adopted mother's brother, for example, just as did his predecessor. Records of adoptions of living Indians show that they are never adopted to replace their own blood-relatives.

Relatives feel an affinity for one another that is not found in any social structure other than the family, even the so-called "gentes." They visit one another and stay as long as they please, and where there are personal likes and dislikes, there is also a strong feeling that the dislikes should be submerged. Political factionalism rarely cuts across family lines; when a woman and man of different factions marry, the woman usually changes to the man's faction, although cases of the reverse are known. The personal bitterness that sometimes accompanies burning issues is in such cases allayed, and the children rarely take sides.

Members of the family group are not supposed to intermarry, and it is extremely rare that they do. Eleven cases of intermarriage of blood-relatives appear in the genealogies, and in all but three of them nobody knew of the relationship until the genealogy was worked out. The three cases have caused much disapproval even though the degrees of relationship would not be considered too close in our culture. The most disapproved case is of a man who married a woman who had previously been ceremonially adopted to take the place of his daughter.

When the clan groups are discussed, it will be seen that marriage within the clan is not only universally practiced but little thought of. This, together with the fact that in ceremonial replacement the adoptee takes the dead person's place in the family but not in the clan, is an indication that the bilateral family is the important social unit.

THE HOUSEHOLD

Since there are no formal rules of residence, and only very slight preferences in favor of matrilocal residence in practice, the household might be considered a group only by virtue of the fact that people have to live together somewhere. In daily life the household is extremely important, of course, for it is usually a group of the closest relatives, and it is the economic unit. Conceptually, however, it is not so important; people come home when they wish or stay with other relatives. Also, in practice its economic unity is tenuous, since if a member of the household has money, he does not necessarily contribute to the common larder; while if he has no money, he may seek sustenance anywhere he happens to be. The household is important because for the most part it contains closely related members of a family.

In 1932 there were seventy-one households: four consisted of a lone man or woman; six consisted of two persons each; eleven consisted of three person each; ten consisted of four persons each; ten consisted of five persons each; six consisted of six persons each; six consisted of seven persons each; nine consisted of eight persons each; six consisted of nine persons each; two consisted of ten persons each; one consisted of twelve persons. Most of them

consist of a married couple and some or all of the children of both, or of one or the other by a previous marriage; but in a large number an unmarried brother or sister of the husband or wife, with perhaps a grandchild or some miscellaneous relatives, complete the household. In only one case do two elementary families live together; in this case a man with children by a previous wife married a woman with a married son and family, and all live together. The most frequent cause for any doubling-up (residence of a young couple with the parents of one, for example) is the scarcity of land and houses.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

It is not intended here to discuss the religious groups, which Dr. Michelson⁴ has so exhaustively studied, except in so far as they are pertinent to the description of the social organization. There are two types of religious societies. The most important consists of a group of members of a "sacred pack," of which there are many, who in the ceremonies are the hosts and, among other distinguishing activities, do not eat. In this type the membership is to some extent hereditary but not fixed as to number, while at the same time there are no particular fixed positions that are always to be filled. Of this type, the sacred packs are all more or less linked to a few "major packs," the members of which constitute what are usually called the "gentes."

In the second type, there are no sacred packs as such; the membership (except in the Peyote cult which, being foreign, follows a different pattern) is relatively fixed, and there are positions to fill. The first type is more important and will be considered first.

The gentes.—How many sacred packs there are in existence among the Fox today no individual knows, but there are certainly at least forty. These packs are classified today into eleven groups, and within each of these groups there is a number of "major packs" and a number of "minor packs." Those persons who are connected with a major pack are connected with all the major packs of its group; but only those connected with the

⁴ See Bibliography for Dr. Michelson's contributions.

major packs of a particular group can be connected with its minor packs. It thus appears that these groups of packs are the basis of a classification of the people, and how one becomes attached to a group becomes an important point.

The rule is that, if the father belongs to the Bear group or the Wolf group, or one of the others, all his children automatically belong there too. Thus there is patrilineal descent. But each of these groups, which may be called "totemic groups," has a stock of personal names, and if a child is named from the Thunder, for example, he is a member of the Thunder packs, no matter what his father was, in addition to his patrilineal group. This is considered "borrowing," however, and his children, in turn, will always belong to his father's group. Also, people can be taken into the totemic groups in other ways, so that conceivably a man might belong to all of them. It would seem as if these totemic groups are rightly called "gentes" since they are patrilinear in ultimate succession, no matter how much "borrowing" goes on. Yet in daily life clan groupings are conceived of as units without any thought as to how the members became members, for they function as ceremonial societies rather than as hereditary social institutions.

If an Indian is asked to what gens another belongs (and if he understands what is meant), he will think of one of three criteria by which to judge. If he remembers that at the War Chief festivals this person does not eat, he will say he belongs to the War Chief; if he remembers to which gens the person's father was allied, he will answer with the name of that gens; on the other hand, he may simply think of the meaning of the person's name, and if it refers to the Wolf, he will answer that the person belongs to the Wolf gens. Sometimes the answer is that he belongs to two or more gentes. In the native mind today membership in a group of packs is membership there, no matter what the father was.

The basis on which personal names are given is this: If there is no particular reason for giving the child a name from another gens, its father's gens bestows one from its supply of names; if there is any reason for wishing (1) to name it from some other

gens than that of the father or (2) to name it into a particular gens like that of the mother, it is done without any difficulty. Of 366 recorded cases of living Fox Indians (1932), 71 were named from a clan other than the father's. Of this number, 10 were illegitimate so that, the father being unknown, the name could not come from his gens; in 2 cases the father was a white man or half-breed without a gens, so that the children were named from the mother's gens. In 16 cases there had been previous deaths in the family, and for a change of luck they decided to name the children from another clan. In 2 cases the mother's sister or the mother's mother adopted the child before it was named, and they took the right to name it from their gentes. In 1 case the child was posthumous, and the stepfather named it. Three children were named by their father's father's mother "out of respect for her old age." The circumstances for the remainder of the cases are unknown except for the statement that "the father gave his permission." (Anent the naming in another clan for "luck," McGee in 1898 quotes the last chief, Push-i-tani-ke, as saying, "When a couple are married and the first child is born, the father has the right to name it, but if it dies, the mother takes the right."^s

The chief reason for a person's becoming a member of a group of sacred packs, other than by inheritance or naming, is that he is a good singer and knows the songs. He may then be asked to participate as a host in the ceremonies of one of the gentes, and thereafter he is considered a member. As far as the records show, there are three persons who are hosts in more than three gentes.

There is a tradition that the gentes are supposed to be exogamous, and the rule, as it is remembered, is that a man should not marry a woman who belongs for any reason to any of the gentes to which he, for any reason, belongs. This rule is not followed today, and as far as one can judge from the genealogies, it was never followed even if one limits it to purely patrilineal gentes. Certain it is that today there is absolutely no sentiment

^s *A Muskwaki Bowl*, p. 89. The rule is not so fast now, at least, but the same idea holds.

in favor of gens exogamy, nor is there any statistical preponderance of usage in its favor.

The records of marriages, together with records of the clan names and the clans of the parents of the parties in the marriage, show that there actually is no clan exogamy. In order to give every benefit to the notion that there is such exogamy, only marriages of those whose gens names and whose fathers' affiliations both mark them as definitely belonging to a certain clan will be used in the following statistical summary.

For convenience, the largest gens (judged by names) may be taken. There were, in 1932, 121 persons with Bear names (as opposed to 100 Thunder, 55 War and Peace Chiefs, 38 Wolf, 39 in three Water clans, 12 Eagle, and one old Pheasant woman). Of these 121, there were 89 whose fathers were also Bears. Of these 89, only 42 had been married, but a total of seventy-nine marriages had been contracted by these 42 Bears. Of these seventy-nine, twenty-three marriages were with War Chiefs; twenty-one marriages were with Thunders; ten marriages were with Wolves; six marriages were with Water peoples; one marriage was with an Eagle; seven marriages were with Foreigners; four were intermarriages among the 42 Bears; and seven were marriages with then deceased Bears.

About one-seventh of all marriages contracted by Bears thus contradict gens exogamy. Since the Bears constitute one-fourth of the tribe, however, it might be argued that there is a tendency to marry out; but when it is remembered that one-half of a Bear's blood-relatives are normally Bears (and he cannot marry them), the difference between one-fourth and one-seventh is accounted for.

The genealogies show that the gentes were hardly more exogamous in the past than they are now. It is significant that clan intermarriages have occurred among the oldest and most conservative people living today. To what extent are the gentes, then, social institutions? They do not regulate marriage, they have no discoverable juridical functions, their connection with family lines is tenuous; today, at least, they seem to be social institutions only in the sense that other cult groups are. It is

for this reason that the term "gens," usually applied to a unilateral kinship group functioning in the regulation of marriage and in secular social life (so that, for example, the kinship terms are often applied throughout gentes, as among the Omaha), should be applied only with reservations to the Fox groups that surround the sacred packs.

There is one group organized about a sacred pack called *mo-wi-ti-a-ki* (the "Little Spotted Buffalo" group or, as Michelson translates it, the "Dirty Little Ani"). It is connected with the packs of the Wolf gens, but one does not have to belong to the major Wolf packs to belong to it, and, indeed, most of the members are not of the Wolf gens. Yet the patterns involved in this group and its ceremonies are exactly like those of the others, the members of which are considered to be in a particular gens. It seems to bear out the conclusion that the gentes vary less from purely religious cult societies than they do from the social institutions that ordinarily bear the name.

Even more significant, perhaps, is the matter of the Buffalo sacred-pack organizations. The Buffalo (or Buffalo Skin) is one of the minor packs of the Bear gens and a major pack of the War Chief, Thunder, and Wolf gentes. The War Chief and Thunder groups hold Buffalo ceremonies twice a year, and the War Chief and Bear gentes, at least, have names in their stocks that refer to the Buffalo. There are "different Buffalo" for each of the gentes, and yet forty or fifty years ago, when there were gens houses in the Fox village (houses in which the ceremonies were held), there was one which was a "Buffalo" house that was, presumably, like those of the gentes proper.

The Singing-around Society (*kiwagamo'ag^{ki}*).—This society has a membership which cuts across family and gens lines and yet is determined, today, largely by heredity. Generally speaking, membership is passed from parents to children, but since a person holds only one membership, he can pass it on to only one child. He (or she) usually chooses his successor during his lifetime, and then both are members of the society, holding one membership between them. In one case an old man, who received his place from his father, has appointed one of his sons to

take his place, and that son has in turn since appointed his son (seven years old at the time he was appointed) to take *his* place. In 1932 all three were still living, and one membership was held by three persons. None of the other members of this family can expect in the normal course of events to belong to the society.

There are two other ways in which a person can become a member, however. If a member dies without having appointed his successor, the person who is subsequently ceremonially adopted to take his place will take his place also in the society. The third method by which persons have entered the society is by having become cured through its efforts. In one case where this occurred (some forty years ago) the man is not only a member of the group but is often called by the name of the group.

Of the forty-seven recognized members today, twenty-six are men and twenty-one are women; of these, twelve men and seven women received membership from the father; five men and four women received membership from the mother; one man received membership from his mother's father's brother; one man received membership from his mother's mother's brother; one man received membership from his mother's brother; one woman received membership from her mother's sister; one woman received membership from her brother; one man received membership from a nonrelative because he is such a good singer; one man and four women received membership by replacement of a member by ceremonial adoption; one man received membership because he was cured by the society; and three men and four women received membership by unknown means.

The society "sings around" at the homes of the members of the whole tribe during an epidemic, and it also functioned in the spring of 1934 when a serious drought threatened. Regular meetings are not held, however, and the society has lost most of the social importance it once may have had, chiefly to the Peyote cult.

The Religion Society.—This society, sometimes called the "Drum Society" or "Dream Dance," is a comparatively recent importation (probably from the Potawatomi of Wisconsin). All the positions in the society surround four drums, each of which

has a leader and various functionaries. Membership is not strictly limited, however, and positions are available to any who are interested and show the proper religious spirit. Actually, the membership is chiefly concentrated in a few families that are politically allied.

The Peyote cult.—The Peyote cult, which is growing steadily in importance among the Fox, has been in the tribe for about thirty years. Membership is open to everybody, for the cult is mildly evangelistic. Since part of the belief of the cult is that the old religion of the Fox is false, however, people strongly involved in other societies are not likely to become Peyote members. Nevertheless, two Peyote members are in the Drum Society, and some of them take part in the gens festivals. The chief motive for joining the Peyote cult seems to be its curative powers; the peyote is supposed to be somewhat of a cure-all, and when other treatment fails, the patient may take up peyote and thereafter remain a member.

THE DUAL DIVISION

All Fox Indians, male and female alike, are in either one of two divisions called *kic'ko* and *to'kan*. The rule of membership is this: If the father is a *kic'ko*, his eldest child is a *to'kan*, his next child a *kic'ko*, the next a *to'kan*, etc. If he is a *to'kan*, his first child is a *kic'ko*, etc., alternately. In this way the tribe is divided as nearly as possible (by any such methods) into two divisions. The divisions used to function in war also, but now function mainly in games and ceremonies. Whenever a lacrosse game is played, instead of "choosing up" sides, the *kic'ko* line up against the *to'kan*; and so with all the games, including partnership gambling games (except when members of another tribe are present, when the split may be along tribal lines). In the ceremonies the *kic'ko* and the *to'kan* have dancing or eating contests. In all cases *kic'ko* are placed to the south, *to'kan* to the north; the former are connected with white, the latter with black.

The rule of membership is determined automatically, not by any naming or initiation, and among the first things that a child learns is the division to which he belongs. Yet (today, at

least) people do not know the division affiliations of other members of the tribe, unless they happen to remember the side they were once on, or remember what a person's father or next sibling is.⁶

THE FACTIONS

What is to some extent a dual division of the tribe that functions throughout the culture much more than does the foregoing is the division into two political factions. In 1876 the government presented (for purposes of paying the annuities) a new form of tribal roll. Where, previously, only the heads of families were entered on the pay rolls and the number of children was given without specifying their names and ages, the new form required the names and ages of everybody in the family. For "religious reasons" the Indians refused to sign the new roll, and they received no money. By 1881 most of the Indians had signed, but some conservatives refused. It does not appear in the records, but some now say that the more progressive Indians signed and used their annuities to pay the communal taxes; later, when others signed the rolls, they kept their money. This is often cited as the origin of the factions.

In 1881 the principal chief died, and his son succeeded him; the son died within a few weeks. The next son was young and timid, and the council proclaimed Push-e-to-neke-quā chief in his stead. It appears that this man was not of the same family of the Bear clan as the old chief, and, although nothing was said (apparently) at the time, some fifteen years later, when another question of annuities came up, the question of the chieftainship rose as a paramount issue. At that time there were two factions: one unprogressive, opposed to schools, farming, policemen, highways, etc., and also in favor of the old line of chiefs; the other, more progressive, was led by Push-e-to-neke-quā. Today the

⁶ One interesting point is that, although the rule of membership given above holds for practically every member of the tribe, it does not hold for one particular group of clans—those related to Water. In these clans all persons are *kic'ko*. There is no rationalization given for this circumstance, but it is affirmed by all; there are not enough cases from these clans to ascertain if it is the name that determines the clan for this purpose or the clan of the father, or both. Interpretations are difficult with such a paucity of data.

same factions exist, with the son of Push-e-to-neke-quā, Young Bear, the leader of one, and the other pretender to the chieftainship, Old Bear, the leader of the other. The latter is still the conservative faction.

It is quite possible that the factions are older than this history. Whenever an important question comes up, the division of opinion follows factional lines, and it is possible that the issues of signing the rolls and succession to the chieftainship simply divided the tribe again in accord with an already present cleavage. The fact remains that the factions are led by two of the three families of the Bear clan, the third family siding with Young Bear as a rule. The other families are also divided without regard to clan.

Each family of the tribe tends to be a unit in political matters, but not so the clans. In ceremonial matters (where the clans are important) factional differences do not enter, and neither of the two factions seems to be more progressive in religious matters than the other. But the members of the Drum Society are nearly all leaders in the Young Bear faction, and there are more members of the Old Bear faction in the Peyote cult (although the leaders of both factions disapprove of peyote).

Marriages between members of the two factions are not uncommon, but in such cases one of the parties to the marriage changes his or her allegiance to suit the other. Women switch more often than men, and there are cases where a woman has changed sides with each of three or four marriages. In 1933 an old woman who, with her family, belonged to one of the factions married the leader of the other faction; now she votes with her husband. In cases of marriage across faction lines, the children (so far as the records are available) do not belong strongly to either faction, since the father's family has one allegiance and the mother's another, and both sides are felt to be equally close. Obviously on such a basis this dual division cannot become a permanent social institution; yet it is extremely important at present, and a great many political and even personal issues are decided along factional lines.

SUMMARY

The bilateral family, cutting across the ceremonial, non-exogamous, and only weakly patrilineal gentes and other cult societies, is the unit in social life to which all allegiances are eventually referred. To consider the traditional dual division, or the factions, or the gentes as of any social significance apart from their connections with the families is to give a false picture of Fox social organization. It is the family that is connected with the kinship system; for the terms and the behavior patterns that go with them are never extended beyond the traceable blood- and affinal relatives—never to all members of the clan or to the dual divisions.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

MARRIAGE

Courtship.—Ideally, Fox young people are completely chaste before marriage. The parents shower them with good advice, watch carefully the company they keep, and—should an affair look as if it were becoming serious—speak with them about the faults and virtues of the prospective mates and their families. Of course, in these days of automobiles and schools, parental influence is, of necessity, weakened; nevertheless, even now marriage is considered a matter in which parents should have a hand if possible.

In the very recent past there was a definite procedure of courtship. Becoming acquainted with a girl during the course of daily life, a young man took a liking to her. Presumably he received some encouragement; having heard his flute outside her house in the evening, perhaps she came out—managing to evade her mother's watchful eye—and held a tryst with him. But formally the courtship consisted of nocturnal visits to the girl's bedside. In the summer houses, the sleeping benches are about three or four feet from the ground; the young man entered the house, held a lighted match to his face to display his identity (and also to be sure of the identity of the girl) to her and the family, and stood beside the girl's bed to talk to her. This he

continued to do every few nights, and finally—having acquainted his parents with his actions and received their approval—he proposed marriage. If the girl accepted him, she set an approximate date for marriage (“harvest time,” for example). Then the young man visited her no more in this way, although he might speak to her in the daytime. They might give each other small gifts to seal their betrothal, which was not, however, made public.

Marriage.—When the time came, the young man went to his fiancée’s home again at night in the same way. If she were still agreeable, he spent the night at her side, remaining chaste, however. In the morning he would stay until the family had seen him, and then he would leave before breakfast. The next night he came again; in the meantime, the girl and her parents had had a last chance to consider; if all was favorable, the young couple consummated the marriage. In the morning the young man stayed for breakfast and became part of the girl’s household. In a few days he took his bride to his own home, and his relatives dressed her in new clothes and gave her presents of drygoods and horses. The latter the bride always gave to her brothers or, if she had none, to her mother’s brothers or to her brother’s children (own or classificatory). Some time later her family sent a number of gifts, consisting of foodstuffs, to his family. Then the marriage ceremonies were over. The couple stayed with the wife’s folks, or the husband’s, until they had a place of their own.⁷

Divorce.—Nowadays, legal marriages are often contracted, but since the cost of a legal divorce is considerable, they are not usually legally dissolved. Instead, the couple simply separate and find new mates. Second marriages were probably never sol-

⁷ It may be noted that further evidence of bilaterality of the family is to be found in this procedure; gifts, tending to be of equal value, were exchanged; residence from the very beginning tended to go back and forth between the two families. Also to be noted is the conceptual equivalence of a girl’s brothers (her own generation), her mother’s brothers (of the generation above), and her brother’s children (of the generation below); actually, all are considered on a generational par, and this makes it less difficult to understand why the cross-cousins (actually on a generational par) are called by terms used for uncles and nephews.

emnized by the exchange of gifts, and they do not seem to be now.

The chief cause for divorce is simply incompatibility. If the couple begin to quarrel, they rarely try very hard to make a success of their marriage. Ideally, husband and wife should overlook small faults, even minor excursions into unfaithfulness; in practice they overlook very little, and marriages often break up over minor misunderstandings. Actual adultery is occasionally condoned, but not if it becomes public. There are women who have very bad reputations, of course, and it is noteworthy that now they find husbands only in other tribes.

TABLE 2

MARRIAGES TERMINATED: SHOWING DISPOSITION MADE OF CHILDREN

DISPOSITION OF CHILDREN	MARRIAGES TERMINATED			
	Total	By Divorce	By Death of Husband	By Death of Wife
Total cases.....	205	106	44	55
No children living.....	110	63	21	26
Wife kept.....	45	29	16	
Husband kept.....	11			11
Wife's family kept.....	21	10		11
Husband's family kept.....	5		2	3
Miscellaneous and unknown...	13	4	5	4

In cases of divorce the woman usually takes the children with her, as indicated in Table 2. In this table, information relative to the disposition of the children on the death of one of the parents is also included; in most cases the wife and her family take care of the children, but the father, when living, retains his interest in them.

Preferential marriages.—Although in times past cases of polygyny were more common, in all the genealogies only one case came to light; the preference in such cases was always that the wives should be sisters. The sororate itself is still common knowledge; it is felt to be highly proper now, but in the old days

it was, apparently, almost compulsory. In seventeen cases of persons now living, the first and second spouses have been thus related (see Table 3). It is apparent from this table that the levirate is now much more common than the sororate, but that neither is of great importance.

A most interesting form of the sororate was the marriage of a man and his wife's brother's daughter. Although no cases of such a marriage are on record, and nobody remembers the last one, a few of the old people describe the custom in such detail that there can be no doubt of its presence in the old days. In

TABLE 3
RELATIONSHIP OF THE FIRST AND SECOND MATES
(IN PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGE)

MARRIAGE	NUMBER OF CASES	
	Actual Relationship	Classificatory Relationship
Woman married two brothers.....	5	6
Man married two sisters.....	1	1
Man married a mother and daughter.....		3
Woman married both a mother's brother and his sister's son.....		1

the oldtime wickiup there were definite sleeping places on the benches that lined the building, and a married daughter and her husband had their place. Occasionally, if the wife's family liked the young man and wanted to be sure that he would remain in the family (so the informants stated), they took one of their son's daughters, a girl of perhaps eight years, and "put her on the bench"; that is, they had her sleep across the head of their daughter and son-in-law's bed. Thereafter, no matter where the daughter and her husband lived, this little girl—the wife's brother's daughter—lived with them. When she grew up, she would become the man's second wife, and if the first wife died before the child grew up, the husband was expected to await her maturity.

THE LIFE-CYCLE

Birth.—When a woman is pregnant, she tells her close female relatives, who tell her what to do. During her pregnancy a woman must be very careful of her health in order to protect the baby. Since there are beliefs that eating scabby fruit will give the child scabs, or eating bologna will injure the child, since it (like the child) is wrapped in skin, or beheading a chicken will cause the baby to be born with a broken neck, etc., there are many things a young woman must learn.

Furthermore, she must be careful to stay away from public places where sorcerers might easily get at the child. Both the father and the mother must be wary of engaging in quarrels—for the baby's sake always—and the father, too, is careful of what he eats and does (for example, he should not touch lightning-struck trees, snakes, corpses, etc.—innumerable things).

A woman makes preparations for childbirth outside the house in a specially built wickiup. When the labor pains begin, she goes into the wickiup, and the husband notifies women relatives who usually know what is best to do. They cut and bury the umbilical cord and bathe the baby; the mother bathes herself.

The wife in the old days stayed away from her husband in her wickiup for forty days after the birth of the child; nowadays she stays only about ten days. It used to be considered very harmful to conceive a child while still nursing another, so husband and wife did not live together for at least a year—at least, regularly—but beliefs such as this have relaxed very much in recent years.

Puberty.—Even today the puberty wickiup is general. At a girl's first menstruation, she is thrown into the water, with her head covered; then she must be segregated for ten days from everybody except old female relatives. After the ten days she is a woman "and should consider herself as such," but for ten days more she cooks for herself, and at every menstrual period she does the same.

There is no sort of puberty ritual for boys. A boy in the old days was taught to fast, both for the general good of his soul and in the hope of getting a blessing from some spirit. Fasting is still

thought important, but with children going off to school it is practically a lost art.

Death.—When a person dies, runners are sent to notify the people, and the same evening there is a ceremony—much like the feasting at the gens festivals—conducted by the gens to which the dead man belonged. It is here that the gens plays its most important part in a person's life. Attendants from other gentes are appointed to sleep that night in the house and to dig the grave the next day. The body is washed and dressed and carried up to one of the three cemeteries, in these days on a truck with a motorcar funeral procession. (The choice of cemeteries follows family lines in general.) A clan marker is later put on the grave. Meanwhile visitors have been bringing gifts to the dead man's family, even while the body is still in the house. The spirit of the funeral ceremony is much like that in our own society.

Adoption.—Ordinary adoption is informal and irregular, but ceremonial replacement follows a definite pattern. Some time about a year after a person has died, his relatives choose some person to take his place. They usually find somebody who is close to the age and of the same sex as the deceased, and presumably somebody of whom they are fond. There is one case in which an old man replaced a child a few months old. The adoption feast, at which a general feast and a religious dance are held and at which the adoptee receives new clothes and many gifts, is usually given by the closest relatives, who furnish the wherewithal, at the home of the nearest relative. Later, the adoptee returns a large amount of foodstuffs as gifts to the family that gave the feast. In collecting the gifts, the host calls on the whole family for help; and, in the same way, the family of the adopted person helps collect the food with which to reciprocate. Occasionally two adoptions are made for one death, when different members of the family (probably disagreeing) each adopts a person. The case of one old man who died some fifty years ago is still remembered because, at his adoption feast, for some reason or other a Wolf gens festival was held—an unheard-of thing—and at night (also a rarity).

In eighty-nine recorded cases of adoptions of this kind, the feasts were made by the dead person's parents in fifty cases; by his children in nine cases; by his nephew or niece in three cases; by his grandparent in three cases; by his grandchild in four cases; by his sibling in eleven cases; by his aunt or uncle in six cases; by his grandfather and uncle in one case; by his husband in one case; and by a nonrelative at whose house the deceased had been living in one case. With the adoption the "ward" takes his place in the family of the deceased although, so far as the records show, never actually in the household. Kin of the dead person then apply to him the proper kinship terms as well as the behavior that goes with them.

INTERPRETATION

In the present-day social organization of the Fox, the kinship system is an integral part of the culture; it represents the classification of all who are considered to be related, and this group of relatives is the most important in social life. The strong family feeling is reflected in the traditional behavior patterns that go with the kinship terms, and it is the group throughout which the kinship terms are applied which functions in daily life. In some other tribes the kinship terms are extended throughout the clans, but not so here; among the Fox the patrilineal clans are not social units in this sense, and the members of a clan do not feel themselves to be a social unity because of kinship. Likewise, one could not interpret the use of the terms "son" and "daughter" for a woman's father's sister's children as meaning "children of women of my clan" and hope to make one's self understand in the language of the Fox. Gentes—clouded in descent and not at all exogamous—exist among the Fox; yet if that is supposed to infer a condition like that of the Omaha tribe, for example, where the gentes are units in the camp circle, they certainly are absent here. In this sense one must insist that the Fox do not have a unilateral social organization, that such a thing is foreign to them actually and conceptually at present.

This fact comes out in many ways. The range of the kinship system itself is a clue, for just as kinship terms are not extended

throughout clans, neither are they curtailed in certain lineages. The bilaterality of Fox social organization comes out also in the makeup of the household groups, in the bilocality of residence, in the equal exchange of gifts at marriage, and especially in the adoption into the family of a person to take the place of any relative, but never into the clan. The type of dual organization—an alternation of the children of each family—is indicative in a negative way of the lack of feeling for social groups involving unilateral descent.

About the only social function that clans seem to have had in the old days was the determination of chieftainship, which was in the Bear gens. But there is strong evidence that this actually meant descent in a Fox family that happened to be of the Bear gens. It is conceivable that, before the recent interruption by white contact, the gentes were becoming stronger social units; the fact that all the members of a Water gens were members of one of the dual divisions is an indication of a unity of the gentes that may have been spreading in the culture. On the other hand, the contrary may be true, and it is conceivable that this case was the last survivor of an old system of strong gentes that had broken down. But both historical interpretations are dangerous because (*a*) the data today are hardly conclusive and (*b*) a functional interpretation of the anomaly might be possible, if all the facts were known.

It appears that in the last fifty years, at any rate, the gentes have not been socially prominent and, in general, that Fox society has been based on the bilateral group of relatives by blood and marriage. One may wonder, then, how the kinship system can be explained. It is the same kind of kinship system that in many places accompanies strong clans or moieties; yet, as in many other places, it is difficult to explain it in terms of patrilineal clans, unless one adopts the auxiliary hypothesis that clans must have previously existed wherever the kinship system is found. An alternative explanation has been offered on the basis of the marriage of a man and his wife's brother's daughter. It might be well to discuss both of these possibilities in terms of the Fox material presented.

That the classificatory system in general fits clans to some extent was pointed out by Morgan himself, but the hypothesis that it is explicable on that basis was at the same time rejected by him. That a distinction between parallel and cross-lines is reminiscent of the division into clans cannot be doubted, since in a patrilineal society the father, his brothers and sisters, the children of the former, etc., are all in one's own clan while the father's sister's descendants and the mother's siblings' descendants are not necessarily so. Likewise, in a matrilineal society, the mother's sister's female line is in one's own clan, while all others are not necessarily so. Of course, in each case one of the first questions asked is: Why are *both* parallel lines merged with one's own line? The systems could be explained on the basis of exogamous moieties better than on the basis of clans, for then certain relatives in both parallel lines would be in one's own moiety. As a universal explanation of the classificatory system with the distinction of parallel and cross-lines, this has never been seriously accepted, however, since the distribution of moieties is comparatively limited.

The Omaha type, of which the Fox system is an example, seems to fit patrilineal clans particularly well, just as the Crow type fits matrilineal clans. In these cases the lines that are merged consist of relatives who are in the mother's clan, in the Omaha type, or in the father's clan, in the Crow type. Now among the Fox the term for the mother's brother, and his son, and his son, etc., might be considered to mean "male relative of my mother's clan." Indeed, the only male relatives of one's mother's clan besides these are called "grandfathers," and this usage may perhaps be explained on the basis of the extraordinary closeness of the mother's father. There is a strong temptation, therefore, to believe that the formation of patrilineal clans preceded and caused the Omaha type of kinship system. But among the Fox, at least, present-day clans could never have exerted such influence, because the clans are not important enough to effect kinship terminology; and, besides, no Fox Indian ever thinks of his mother's brother as "a male of my mother's clan." Generally, such an explanation of the Omaha type

is faulty on grounds of distribution; why do not the Ojibwa (with clans very much stronger than those of the Fox) have this type of kinship system? Also relevant is the simple question of what brought on the clans, if clans brought on the kinship system?

Another answer that has been given is that clans have brought on the Omaha type where both exist, but the marriage with the wife's brother's daughter has caused the Omaha system wherever it, in turn, exists. This theory holds that, if for some reason (unstated) a sororate practice of taking the wife's brother's daughter as a second wife arises, then the natural consequences of that marriage are anticipated in the terminology, and the Omaha type arises. Thus one's child by a first wife will call the second wife "mother" (or "stepmother") and her brother "mother's brother"; but since the second wife is also this child's mother's brother's daughter—and her brother, the mother's brother's son—these relatives are precipitantly called "mother" and "mother's brother." Meanwhile, of course, the wife's brother's daughter would be a "sister-in-law." Now these are the terms of the Fox system (with "mother's sister" substituted for "mother"), and since the Fox also had the designated form of marriage, it would appear that they corroborate this theory.

On general grounds this explanation suffers in the same way as the other, but specifically, among the Fox, it can be shown to be untenable. In the first place, the marriage is barely remembered today, but all evidence points to the fact that it was never very common, and that therefore it could hardly have so affected the kinship system. It appears that the ordinary sororate was fairly common and that the marriage with the wife's brother's daughter was a substitute for it when the wife had no eligible sister. If one looks at the kinship system today, this is understandable, since both the wife's sister and her brother's daughter are called "sister-in-law," and if one is marriageable, so is the other. The question becomes, first of all, why the wife's brother's daughter is called "sister-in-law" (and, reciprocally, of course, why the father's sister's husband is called "brother-in-law" by both a man and a woman). Such terminology fits the marriage

and would seem to be a *sine qua non* of it. In order to sustain the theory under discussion it would have to be shown that this part of the terminology is distributed together with the other distinctive features of the Omaha type. The fact is that both features have somewhat independent distributions, even though they often appear in the same tribe.

In considering the terminology applied to the father's sister's husband, and to the mother's brother's wife, it is noteworthy that among the Fox there is a strong tendency at present to think of the mother's brother's wife as "sister-in-law." Now, kinship systems of the Crow type have been explained on the basis of marriage with the mother's brother's wife (or widow)—an explanation comparable to that for the Omaha type on the basis of marriage to the father's sister's husband (or, as it is usually stated, to the wife's brother's daughter). The marriage with the mother's brother's wife, of course, goes together with calling her "sister-in-law." The condition among the Fox becomes interesting, therefore, since with an Omaha type the mother's brother's wife is yet treated like a sister-in-law and is often referred to as one. Whether this is very recent (and the terminology would indicate that it is), or whether marriages have ever been contracted within this relationship, is not known (there are no records of such a marriage, but for that matter there are no records of marriage with the father's sister's husband, either). But it is fair to say that the two relatives have become conceptually equivalent among the Fox. This means (1) that the terminology applied to spouses of uncles and aunts is not completely bound up with the Omaha-Crow types—which rather upsets the explanations on the basis of the peculiar marriages—and (2) that the Fox seem to have been developing a system as completely bilateral as possible, notwithstanding its supposedly unilateral Omaha feature.

The question of how unilateral the Fox kinship system is, is essential to an understanding of the entire question. One has a strong feeling that, even though this type of kinship system is often accompanied by patrilineal groupings, yet the Fox system in practice is as bilateral as any. The "mother's brother and

sister's son" relationship is equivalent, and there is practical equivalence in the other cross-cousin relationships in spite of the fact that the mother's brother's daughter is "mother" to her father's sister's children, and the "mother-child" relationship is normally one of superordination and subordination. This is accomplished because it is the relative age of the two that is actually significant. A "mother" (or "mother's sister") normally demands respect of her "children." But if they are the same age, they behave rather as "siblings," and if the "child" is considerably older than the "mother," the respect is actually in the opposite direction. The same is true with grandparents and grandchildren. A good example that is easily affirmed is that of the uncle and his nephew or niece. This is a relationship of equivalence except in the "bogeyman" aspect that has been described. Normally, the "uncle" is the bogeyman to the "nephew," but if the "uncle" is a child and the "nephew" a mature man, the "nephew" is actually the bogeyman. In Fox, at least, all relationships are conceptually equivalent, the non-equivalent behavior being dependent upon relative age alone. It is useless to think of the mother's brother's line as somehow elevated, therefore. The differentiation must still be explained, but not fundamentally on the basis of a unilateral conception. It is for this reason, also, that one cannot think of the Omaha and Crow types as opposite poles of a conceptual scheme. Actually, there may be very little difference between them.

In combination with actual clans or moieties, the Omaha and Crow types assume new and different meanings, and they fit so nicely that one is tempted to explain one in terms of the other. Fox material gives some strong indications, however, that this is an erroneous approach.

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AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, (Annual) Reports
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
FMNH-PAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore
SI-CK	Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Knowledge
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

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